597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [191] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 934 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hateuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether.

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief.

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply.

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hateuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols.

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese charactor for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 794 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

798 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 796 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly [787] best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the [533] deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

757 [854] [164] [232] [578] frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 776 769 775 [764] As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in general are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 756 [787] In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, somebody may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira [769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere- [793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 755 769 [796] Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

805 177 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays [529] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same [788] [796] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full 805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated 527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

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brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems.

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa.

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.")

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about.

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 795 [152] [756] [787]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent", 769 753

756 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in
● 787 the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman,
[794] though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually
[771] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for
[787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchū-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.